2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

out to sea. Those represented by the images were then to die from hunger, thirst or drowning. I wanted to take these things, but the chief would not allow me to touch them, for he was afraid the curse intended for others might fall on me if I did so! And to take them would be a sort of sacrilege on my part. I was really in the midst of a great whirl of superstition among these people, and I found it always necessary to walk warily.

It is very strange that, although snakes are very much feared by this people, both men and women worship them on occasion. Not only are they made objects of divine worship, but they are also used in divination. And although they are said to have a special spite against women, and are ever seeking to possess them and drive them mad, yet there are some women who actually keep snake skins as special charms and fortune-bringing agents. I well knew one woman, and she was a very much feared shaman, who kept the image of one of these reptiles in a box to use in divination.

The men, I found, were much averse to killing snakes themselves, because they thought that by so doing, evil spirits, which they supposed to dwell in them, would, upon leaving their old homes in the reptiles, forthwith enter the heart of the slayer and work diabolical spells there. No doubt this was the reason Mr. Bright sent for me to go and kill the demon-snake which had got into his granary, an account of which has already been given. These folk seemed to imagine that I was beyond being harmed by the devils! And this I took as a great compliment and killed many of these creatures for them. Should one be seen to cross the path of a woman, then, indeed, the men would try to kill it, for, said they, snake possession was the chief cause of all troubles connected with childbirth, and the only certain antidote was to slay the creature, for it was undoubtedly seeking to possess the woman. It was also

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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horizontal frame above the fire (*tuna*), to the adjustable pot-hook (*shumat*), and to almost any object of value.

When the sacred millet brew (*inau korashkoro*) is made for a festival, they are attached to the vessels for brewing, the wooden pestle for grinding the millet (*yuta-ni*), the winnowing basket (*moi*) the bow and quiver (*ku* and *ikayop*), and anything else that might attract evil spirits. At the northern festival the young bear has a coat and carrings made of them (Pl. IV, fig. 1). In operations involving uncertainty or risk, such as making a dug-out canoe, the same means of protection are employed. Curled shavings are regarded as potent amulets for personal protection.

Twisted shavings are used as bracelets by women performing the ritual of brushing away evil from the sick, and in difficult labour when the midwife also wears two as a necklace. This forms the *eukot* (mutually attached) twisted shavings, a valuable talisman. It is not usually worn by a woman in labour, but is placed under the pillow. One was placed on my wife's neck when she was administering an anaesthetic while assisting me in a case of prolonged parturition.

Curled shavings inside the pillow were formerly supposed to retain the *ramat* of personal vigour and afford protection during sleep. The image (*inoka*) of Kinashut Kamui is made of curled shavings and is used in exorcism rites. A less sacred form made of grass is used for protection in case of illness (Pl. IV, fig. 2). Curled shavings were also used to preserve the aconite poison which is put on arrow-points, from being spoilt by hostile spirits. It was first wrapped in the shavings and then robed in them, in which state it was taboo. Aconite, though feminine, was *kamui* and taboo to women, but recently some Ainu women have committed suicide by means of it. When an Ainu is suffering from possession by the spirit of a hornet, as diagnosed by the medium (*tusu*), a trusted device for causing the intruder to depart is to make an imitation wasps' nest of curled shavings and wave it six times sunwise round the victim's head.

Before leaving the subject of *inau*, a few words should be said about certain signs incised on some of them. So far as I know, there are no marks of personal ownership, but in the Nibutani neighbourhood signs betokening the male ancestral line are incised on five kinds of *inau* on a very special occasion. This is the ritual dismissal of the Bear Spirit at the end of the Bear Festival. A male

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu A[illegible]

children, or, on festive and funeral occasions by guests. Guests always moved slowly and stoopingly, with hands hanging before them. They moved along the line of arrows to the positions indicated by the E's, where, if many, they sat in line awaiting ceremonial arrangements.

The interior seen in Plate XIV has a wooden floor, now usual in all but the poorest houses. Above the sitters is a horizontal frame stretching over the hearth. This is the *tuna*, from which is suspended the adjustable pot-hook (*shuat*). That in the picture departs from the old-fashioned and more elaborate type that I have seen in use, but both are hand carved. From one side of the older one (Pl. XI, fig. 1) hangs a large cooking spoon (*kashup*) and from the other a spatula (*shto-pera*) used in making millet dumplings; it has a notched vertical bar (*ikkeu*) which slides up and down the frame of mulberry wood. The latter is softened with hot water, bent and then slowly dried to rigidity.

The utensils used by women in preparing food are known collectively as *topochi kamui*. These include, besides those just mentioned, the pestle (*yuta-ni*), mortar (*nishu*) and winnowing basket (*mui*), all of which are kept in the shed. These three play important parts in rites concerned with difficult childbirth, and the first two take part in the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui, or his evil underlings, in cases of food poisoning or acute abdominal pains. The mortar is also used as a practical expedient; patients are rolled thereon to induce vomiting. All things used in preparing food receive curled shavings at festivals, when offerings to the spirits are never omitted. Those attached to the upper end of the pot-hook are usually removed and burnt as an offering to Kamui Fuchi, lest it be ignited and set fire to the dried food on the frame above the hearth.

Every house with any pretensions to comfort has plenty of reed matting. Examples can be seen in Plate XVI, figs. 1 and 2. They are called *inau-so* because *inau* are placed upon them; and at all festivals one is laid down at the head of the hearth, as is seen in Plate XVII, where a preliminary purification is being performed before the House-Warming Ceremony. When removed from this position the mat must be handled gently so that the accumulated *ramat* is not disturbed. The design on all *inau-so* have a general similarity, but definite variations are made by certain families. For ordinary use plain mats are woven, as may be seen in Plate XVI.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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Fig. 1. Purification of patient by beating at the river bank.

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Fig. 2. Thumping the wooden mortar so that its spirit may relieve woman in difficult labour.

PLATE XXII. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (F)]

VARIOUS RITES

776 224 Hash-inau-uk Kamui. Apparitions of both are mentioned in legends, the deceptive one concealing her face with hanging tresses. She was known as Kenash (or Nitat) Unarabe, 'swamp aunt'. Though rarely seen she was held responsible for deluding the hunter. Just when he felt sure that his arrow had struck the game, the quarry vanished or escaped unwounded. She was also a vampire, craving for blood and sucking it from wounded men or from hunters sleeping in the wilds. Yet on that very account she was, [782] strange to say, occasionally invoked, under a flattering title, for an [845] exceptionally difficult childbirth. The invocation was slyly called [755] true-lore talk, and she was supposed to be summoned with the approval of the good *kamui* to perform a task of ritual impurity, the inducement being a swig of blood.

825 272 Hunters drank the blood of the bear whether it was slain in hunting or at the Bear Festival, regarding it as divine medicine (*kamui kusuri*) and drinking it for its mysterious efficacy.

825 796 782 I have been present when fifty or more Ainu have celebrated a *kamui maratto*, the feast for bears killed in the wilds. The bear's head occupied a place of honour near the sacred window with offerings of food and drink similar to those of the great Bear Festival, and the proceedings were much the same though less elaborate. The spirit was given a similar send-off and the skull was erected at the *inau chiba* like that of the young bear killed ritually.

784 263 192 Hunters observed a taboo on the word *shippo* (salt); if salt was referred to it was called *una* (ashes).

Hunting the Swordfish

226 The pursuit of the great swordfish (*shirikap*), called hunting and not fishing, still draws some Ainu far out to sea. When I saw it early in the century it excited great enthusiasm, with rivalry be- [477] tween the crews of the dug-out canoes. It was not without danger, for the mighty fish often attacked, sometimes driving its sword through a boat or otherwise overturning it. In such a case the crew knocked on the boat as a signal for help from the other hunters, who were usually not far off.

226 782 789 As it is a risky venture, religion and magic enter largely into the preparations for it. Prayers are said to Kamui Fuchi, to Rep-un Kamui, chief deity of the deep sea, and a curious one to Penup

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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795 769 825 776 worshipped at the same time, but notwithstanding this apparent neglect he was held in such awe that his skull was not used as a protector (*shiratki*), other birds being treated with sacred shavings and used in his place. In explanation, Munro suggested that the eagle owl might be a 'deity particular to certain Ainu'. Apparently he did not realize the importance of his own suggestion, founded as it was on a chance observation. However, when considered in conjunction with Mr Kubodera's observation that in the Saru district every family worshipped two 'weighty' *kamui*, one of which was always Metot-ush Kamui, and that of Mr Watanabe in which he noted that the *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the *ekashi-ikir* of the worshipper, Munro's observation has considerable importance and throws fresh light on the Ainu ancestral cult. Thus, with his other somewhat cryptic remark: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent', he brings forward both positive and negative evidence that the bear and the eagle owl, both important *kamui* for all Ainu, are worshipped in the ancestral cult of specific localities, and also that the *itokpa* are symbols of the patrilineal cult.[1] Further, the territorial character of the patrilineages in the north is established by the information given above by Rennuikesh.

[184] [778] [614] [423]

795 769 776 114 Batchelor states that Kando-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Sky) was also addressed as Kotan-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Village) as was seen in Chapter I, p. 12, but unfortunately, there is no information to indicate whether the use of this title was common to all Ainu or limited to certain localities.[2] Although Batchelor was mistaken in considering this *kamui* to be a supreme deity, it is significant that the 'Possessor of the Kotan' epithet connects the *kamui* of the sky with that of a local group, and thus with the ancestral patrilineal cult.

795 769 614 Another indication of the importance of the *kotan* to the patrilineal ancestral group is seen in No. 10 of a series of invocations to various *kamui* for aid in difficult childbirth (see Appendix, p. 166).

782 845 [184]

[1] It is unfortunate that the evidence we have does not indicate whether the Bear Kamui was associated with the ancestral cult in the Saru district only, or generally among the Ainu. Munro states that in the north Metot-ush Kamui was sometimes called Iworo Kamui; thus he is identifying the Bear with a territorial patrilineal group.

[2] I would like to suggest that the use may have been limited to certain territorial patrilineages.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

This is made to Nusa-koro Kamui, the Kamui of the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where, in olden times, it was customary to bury important elders. On this occasion, Nusa-koro Kamui is addressed as Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi (Ancestor Kamui who Rears the Kotan). Further evidence is seen in the title Iworo-koro Kamui (see above, p. 152). It is suggested that the bear, eagle owl, sky, and the chaff-thrown *kamui* (all, it should be noted, *pase kamui*) are each, in certain localities, connected with the *kotan* or the *iwor* (see below), territories occupied by patrilineages, and so associated with the ancestral cult.

Kotan chieftainship has broken down. Where it still exists, succession follows the old custom and is patrilineal. The chief was called *Sapane guru* and the office passed to the eldest son. Munro was told that in the old days a bad chief might be put to death. Mr Seiichi Izumi states (*Journal of Japanese Ethnology*, 1951) that since the 1890s when the Ainu lost their territorial rights to hunting and fishing grounds, the strong territorial group life has disintegrated. Previously, the chief presided over the patrilineal family groups—the *ekashi-ikir*—of the locality. In text fig. 8 Munro shows diagrammatically how the local groups were arranged with regard to their hunting rights on the hills and fishing rights in the rivers and on the sea coast. Hunting by means of a spring bow (*kuari*) was a collective activity limited by village rights. Persons not belonging to these groups could not become members of the *kotan* unless they were adopted by a local *ekashi-ikir* and given its badge (*itokpa*), for which a valuable gift would be accepted. Within the territory (*iwor*) of the *kotan* each family had certain exclusive rights which were transmitted from father to eldest son. These were specified hunting rights, fishing rights in rivers and on the coast, and the right to collect the herb from which aconite poison is extracted. No one was allowed to enter the *iwor* of another *kotan* without permission.

Mr Watanabe states that after the Ainu were given plots of land for cultivation in 1885 the *iwor* organization began to disintegrate, but in his recent researches in the Topachi district (1957) he found the largest territorial group to be the *ekashi-ikir*, each of which was associated with its type of *itokpa*. Thus he confirms Munro's somewhat obscure statement that the eagle owl might be 'a deity particular to certain Ainu', and, further, he indicates that the bear deity is associated with the *ekashi-ikir*.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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APPENDIX I

A Series of Fourteen Invocations

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This series of invocations deals with appeals for help to the *kamui* in difficult or protracted labour, and presumably, when the help is granted and the child is born, the series need not be completed. No. 3 of the series is missing. It is an invocation to Nusa-koro Kamui asking him to tell Kinashut Kamui to expel the *wen kamui* obstructing the passage of the child.

It will be noted that the first in the series is to Kamui Fuchi; she cannot come in contact with the impurity of birth, so she is told that her assistant Uari Kamui is anxious, and she is asked to summon, in due course, all the other *kamui* who can help. She is told that the gifts of offerings [*inau*] should surely stir them to action. They must drive away the evil *kamui*. The second in the series invokes Uari Kamui directly. The method of calling an important *kamui* first, and then his assistant, is repeated in the case of Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut Kamui [Nos. 3 and 4], and again when 'the spider' Ashke Tanne Mat is called [Nos. 10 and 11]. In No. 12 Wakka-ush Kamui is called before the fresh-water crab, Ami Tanne Mat, is invoked.

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1. *Innono itak* (*invocations, lit.* '*prayer-talk*') *to Kamui Fuchi*

Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, as this is a painful and difficult labour Uari Kamui is disturbed and anxious. Please send a message in haste to your higher and lower assistants in their proper order. The gift of *inau* with the message to *kamui* of courage and feeling will surely rouse them to activity [lit. 'wake them up']. Usually the pains are gentle and easy. But when any evil spirit [*wen kamui*], full of malice, puts on his wicked magic, labour continues difficult. With your spirit helpers, the brave *kamui* Mintara-ush Guru and the brave *kamui* Ru-koro Kamui [gods of the precincts and the privy, respectively], whoever these *wen kamui* [evil spirits] may be; with these brave *kamui* [spirit-helpers, right arms striking] in turn, it is as if the others [evil spirits] are not. Humbly, with diffidence in the presence of Iresu Kamui, they can save the Ainu person by means of their *takusa* [purification switches]. With *takusa etiu*, by the ends of the *takusa*, any *wen kamui* can be utterly swept away. You are besought to give your orders [to act].

2. *Invocation to Uari Kamui*

Uari Kamui, this painful and difficult [labour, understood] indeed makes this young woman fearful. Since this sudden anxiety is known to Iresu Kamui [Kamui Fuchi] she probably exhorts you in this matter to act without delay, to take the baby from the womb gently and safely and hold [preserve it]. Iresu Kamui will probably be thankful.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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APPENDIX I

4. *Invocation to Kinashut Kamui*

Surpassingly swift Thinker, Chief Kinashut! Therefore are you sitting with Nusa-koro Kamui, to the west of his place [actually to the north-west]. Inside [the house], near to Kamui Fuchi, the childbirth goes on with difficulty. Uari Kamui, surprised and anxious, sends a message for you to do something. Kamui Fuchi sends a servant to say what I am telling you. Give attention to this. Kamui *takusa* will help the suffering Ainu. Uncoiling from above downwards with your *kamui takusa* on the suffering Ainu and blowing away [hissing] you do *epiru* [exorcism by sweeping]. Afterwards will follow easy labour and delivery from the womb. Iresu Kamui will probably tender thanks.

5. *Invocation to Apa-sam Kamui*

Beside the door of the house of Iresu Kamui, Protecting Person, Echiririkek[1] Person, Brave Deity with that name! Nearby there is suffering from the evil magic put on by some *wen kamui* whereby labour continues to be difficult. Even if hiding in the earth, you can search it out, and, from the earth, with Mintara-ush Guru [deity of the precincts] can take hold of it in both arms and both sweep it away and punish it for evil doing. Afterwards Shtoruruke[2] Mat, Kamui Katkimat and your younger sister, holding her spirit *takusa* in both hands [one in each hand] will utterly sweep away from inside the home of Iresu Kamui, with the ends of the *takusa*, the rancorous *kamui*. Tell Mintara-ush Guru [outside] also to grip and punish it. Then afterwards the childbirth will go on gently and easily. Uari Kamui will receive from the womb, and hold, the baby. Iresu Kamui will probably accord thanks.

6. *Invocation to Mintara-koro Kamui or Mintara-ush Guru*

Near Iresu Kamui there is inside [the house] painful and difficult labour. Iresu Kamui being anxious about this thing selects out of many *Tunchi* [assistants or spirit-helpers] Mintara-ush Guru. To make known the tidings Iresu Kamui sends her messenger. Humbly attending to that, with *kamui takusa* held in both hands, in the presence of Iresu Kamui, you may save the Ainu person, and with *takusa* sweep away the ill-disposed *kamui* [*pito*], clearing it away by the ends of the *takusa*. Later on there will be good childbirth. Uari Kamui with both hands

[1] *Echiririkek* implies that as water trickling down finds its way, so, my informants surmise, the name implies searching out. But this is only a plausible interpretation. The word is a proper name in this place.—N.G.M.

[2] This is a proper name for which my informants can find no meaning. The nearest dictionary interpretation that I get near to is Great-heap. Another: *Shtoruruke* also refers to the water in which the *shto* or cakes have been boiled for the Bear Festival.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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delivering the child [taking the child from the womb] Iresu Kamui will probably be thankful.

7. *Invocation to Ru-koro Kamui*

Ru-koro Kamui, inside [the house] there is painful and difficult [labour]. Therefore, Mintara-ush Guru, informed of the trouble and being near, asks Ru-koro Kamui to rise and help alongside of Iresu Kamui. Mintara-koro Kamui bears a message about this affair asking urgently that you take in your hands the *kamui takusa* and do *takusa etiu* upon the suffering Ainu. Rancorous *kamui* can be swept out by the ends of the *takusa*, and any evil *kamui* whatsoever, at last there will be an easy birth. Iresu Kamui will probably bestow thanks.

8. *Invocation to Nishu Fuchi (Ancestress of the Mortar)*

Nishu Fuchi, though you be called *Kotan korisme* [village dancer], you are Kamui Katkimat. Chief one of many agents of Iresu Kamui, you are about the same age and were brought up together . . . appearing as *Kotan korimse* you are Kamui Katkimat. Because within the home there is painfully difficult labour, Uari Kamui is startled and anxious at the side [of the patient]. Upon the suffering Ainu from head to feet, if, with the magic force of your outstretched arms, you thrust the spear-shadow rapidly to and fro, any *wen kamui* rancorously putting evil magic upon the Ainu will be annihilated [reduced to powder] by your magic thrust. Afterwards there will be a good childbirth. Uari Kamui, close by [the patient and child], will give protection. Iresu Kamui will surely be gladly thankful.

9. *Invocation to Soko-ni Fuchi (Elder Tree Ancestress)*

Soko-ni Fuchi, [existing] from the most ancient times of Ainu Land! In this way Soko-ni Fuchi is near to Kamui Fuchi in a house where there is difficult labour. On this account Uari Kamui is very anxious and makes haste to tell the trouble. Alongside of Mintara-koro Kamui, Soko-ni Fuchi holds in her hands her *kamui* [spirit] *takusa* and together with Iresu Kamui will save the suffering Ainu by blowing away [the trouble] and sweeping it away altogether by the *takusa*. Thus the rancorous *kamui* shall be entirely ousted, and with easy labour the child be born. Iresu Kamui will probably be thankful.

10. *Invocation to Nusa-koro Kamui to order Ashke Tanne Mat, the long-fingered woman, to lend assistance. She is the Spider* kamui, *and midwife to all Ainu women*

Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi! Near to Iresu Kamui inside [the house] there is painful and difficult [labour]. There is fresh news of great

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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anxiety in this matter. Over and above these standing *inau* is something more [than the favour previously asked]. The message of Iresu Kamui has probably been heard that you grant your spirit helper Ashke Tanne Mat to save [the suffering woman]. Uari Kamui alongside adjures you to protect. Please vouchsafe this.

11. *This invocation is made directly to Ashke Tanne Mat. Like Kinashut Kamui, she is a dependant or assistant to Nusa-koro Kamui*

Ashke Tanne Mat [Long Fingered Female] Kamui Katkimat! Inside, near Iresu Kamui, is a difficult childbirth. Uari Kamui, anxious for this reason, hastens to make it known to Nusa-koro Kamui, who hearing it will probably tell what she says. Together with Uari Kamui you can help to save. Protecting close together there will be a gentle and easy delivery of the child from inside, with near at hand defence [against evil *kamui*]. Iresu Kamui will probably give thanks.

12. *Invocation to Wakka-ush Kamui to demand aid from the* kamui *of the fresh-water crab, Ami Tanne Mat, the long-nailed woman*

Wakka-ush Kamui, Kamui Pase Guru! Near to Iresu Kamui inside [the house] there is painfully difficult labour. Uari Kamui has much anxiety. Wakka-ush Kamui is asked, together with [offerings of] *inau*, to attend to it. Condescend to command the divine agent [or assistant] Ami Tanne Mat, Kamui Katkimat, to help.

13. *Invocation made directly to Ami Tanne Mat*

Agent of Wakka-ush Kamui [the god of fresh waters] Ami Tanne Mat! [long-nailed female]. Near Iresu Kamui there is certainly suffering and difficult labour. This being so, Uari Kamui is most anxious about it and has surely sent the tidings to Ami Tanne Mat, Kamui Katkimat. Previously, your Chief, Wakka-ush Kamui, has had the message. His command you have probably heard, to take immediately your magic hook of iron in both hands. [This probably means to do the best with it.] Alongside [the patient] Uari Kamui is unable to save the baby in the womb. As to this, if it dies it must die. Uari Kamui being unable has therefore told Kamui Katkimat. Even if the baby dies in the womb, the suffering Ainu, at any rate, has only one soul-possessing body. Uari Kamui, near at hand, asks you to protect.

14. *This invocation to Honpusa, the penis, is a last resort*

This Honpusa, soul-bearing Kamui! From inside myself and from the womb there should be a baby. Gently and easily Uari Kamui should receive and hold it safely. An evil *kamui*, working mischief in an Ainu belly, makes labour continue to be difficult. Urgently needed, your

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medicine [his urine] will clear from above down the belly of the suffering Ainu. If it is drunk, it will clear from above downwards any evil *kamui* from the belly and drive it forth. After delivery of the baby Uari Kamui shall receive it and will probably be very happy.

/764 cont./

844 The birth pangs start with the Ainu women long before the actual confinement and are very obstinate. A confinement is
[845] only considered difficult if birth does not take place till the fifth day after the first pains.

844 789 769 The midwife speaks the following words in taking up the child: "Asiri ciacia inankarachty," which means, "new old man, be healthy"! When a girl has been born she says pachko instead of ciacia, /765/ meaning "little old woman." The Ainu believe that their children are sent to them from the be-
[842] [975] yond by deceased relatives, who live there in the same conditions as the inhabitants of the earth. For that reason a mother takes her child up in her arms as quickly as possible after its umbilical cord has been cut with a knife, and says: "A! Aino! vok erambotara-anachci ne nanko!" meaning, "Look, people, how disturbed they are!" That is, those who have sent the child to earth now remember this and are worried whether it has weathered its journey safely.

844 [864] The Ainu do not hide anything from their children who know exactly how childbirth takes place. For that reason it is unnecessary to lie to them later concerning the arrival of a new brother or sister.

Behavior of the Man. —

The husband of a prospective mother has to take the place of the midwife whenever the latter does not turn up on time or when the confinement becomes too protracted.

844 778 782 789 The husband of the woman in childbirth helps her in many cases personally, as do the other men in the house. When the woman moans they place in one corner of the hearth a little stick whose surface has been carved with a knife. This little stick is called inau by the Ainu and signifies a sacrifice to the
[776] gods, in this case the goddess of fire. For it is this one among all the gods who maintains the best relations with man, and she can, when she wants to, always be of help to man. The men also clasp a string around the suffering woman just below
[755] the chest. This string is twisted out of long willow chips and is called cinoje inau, that is, "twisted inau"; it is often used as a

/766 cont./
844 [957] [823] the size of pigeon eggs which are kept as treasures in every family.

To speed up the extrusion of the afterbirth they wind a narrow strip of silk around the abdomen of the woman, and /767/ she herself pushes her finger deep into her mouth in order to cause vomiting. As soon as nausea sets in, the afterbirth ordinarily separates.

The latter is wrapped together with all the other excretions in a mat and laid down somewhere outside, away from the dwelling, after sundown. If the birth took place during the night this refuse may not be removed till the break of day.

845 The Ainu have never heard of a vagina tearing during parturition, and it is probable that this never occurs with them. But there are rare cases in which the woman is unable to bring forth the child. I knew a widower whose wife had died because of this; for the Ainu do not know of artificial means to help in a difficult birth.

846 Concern with the health of a woman lying-in does not end with the birth. Until approximately ten days have passed the woman is not allowed to leave the house, even if the delivery has taken place among strangers and the woman desires to return home as soon as possible. At her departure the owner of [574] the house in which she stayed prepares soft shavings on which the woman is bedded in the sled or boat.

845 844 114 Comparing my observations of the conditions among the Ainu and the Gilyak I must come to the conclusion the Ainu women bear children with greater difficulty and more pain than the Gilyak women—And this depsite the fact that the position of the latter is considerably worse not only during childbirth but also generally in the family life. A well-known Russian research-traveller, Krasheninnikov, who towards the end of the 18th century wrote a work entitled "A Description of Kamchatka," mentions in this book that among Ainu living on the Kuril Islands the delivery of children is a more difficult process than among the peoples of Kamchatka, since the period of convalescence of the Ainu women on the Kuril Islands,

/767 cont./

845 by their own assertion, sometimes lasts as long as three months
844 after the birth of a child. In 1903, during my stay among the
114 Ainu a 32-year old woman died a few days after her delivery who had suffered violent pains and had lost consciousness during the birth. The child came into the world alive but died a few days later.

846 Twigs of the taxus baccata strongly heated and then laid
824 on the body of the patient are also considered an excellent
757 remedy to help the weakened woman regain her health as fast as possible.

844 Treatment of the Newborn.
[752] The umbilical cord is cut with a knife; the wound is
[237] sprinkled with the powder obtained by rubbing river shells together, and the wound is then bandaged with a piece of cloth. The navel always heals normally and a fracture of the navel is
856 totally unknown to the Ainu. They massage the head of the
844 child several times a day since the Ainu maintain that it might otherwise be misformed. The head must be rounded back and front and also on top. This form the Ainu try to achieve in shaping the soft head of the child. At the same time they wrap the child's head /768/ with soft, warm chips of wood, especially where it is soft.

844 The newborn baby is washed with warm, clear water without any admixture on the very first day of its life. A boy gets a colder bath than a girl. They pour the water in small quanti-
[415] ties from a vessel made of birch bark onto the body of the child which they hold with the left hand over the floor while they rub it with the right hand. It is forbidden to use water for the bath that one has previously had in one's mouth, as is the
[753] custom among the Gilyak. The Ainu believe, that the child will develop a disease of the eyes if he is washed in such water.

844 As soon as the child is wrapped in diapers it is given
853 nourishment. During the first day the newborn is usually suckled by another woman who still has enough nourishment. But when no suitable women is in the vicinity the mother herself will giver her breast to the child right away. When the mother has

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843 753 her relatives about it, no miscarriage will take place.

2. If the woman falls during her pregnancy and receives a severe shaking, miscarriage will occur.

843 833 After seven lunar months of pregnancy the woman should avoid frequent intercourse with her husband since during this time the male semen might get into the eyes and mouth of the fetus, and the child would thus see badly. They tell of new-born children who have so much white slime in their mouth [845] which, like male semen, is called (owembo), that it cannot be removed fast enough from their mouth and they die by suffocating from it.

846 833 Following parturition intercourse is not allowed for from 30 to 40 days.

842 A typical idea of the Ainu is that conception is not brought about by having intercourse just once or twice. The child, they think, is the fruit of repeated coitus, and for that reason [836] it is considered harmless by the Ainu women to yield to a man once or twice. They only fear the consequences of an extended love affair.

847 177 [843] Among the Ainu, much more frequently than among the Gilyak, miscarriages are induced artificially. The life of the latter is much more normal in the framework of traditional customs, whereas that of the Ainu on Sakhalin Island has been influenced for two centuries by a powerful external factor, that of the Japanese. These interfere to an enormous extent in the life of the Ainu, they change it and import elements that are not exactly instrumental in furthering culture. Especially the women stand under the influence of foreign men who are only interested in satisfying their sexual urge. Hence stems the large number of secret affairs that Ainu women have [548] with foreigners, and it gives rise to the type of women who are given to an only slightly veiled form of prostitution. In both cases they purposely avoid pregnancy and apply all methods to remove it in case it accidentally occurs.

847 The most commonly used method for this, long known to Ainu women, is pressing the abdomen with the hands or some

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847 [184] told me about it did not know its name. I was not so well acquainted with the women of these regions that I could have openly discussed such a delicate topic with them.

Artificial abortions were, according to what the old Ainu tell, already known in the distant past, since girls enjoyed [836] absolute freedom in sexual intercourse, but were ashamed, or refused, to bear children before marriage. It is possible that at that time other means were also used to get rid of the fetus.

847 177 Now the women use primarily Japanese methods, which are being introduced by the workers and officials of the fisheries that are spread over the entire southern coast of Sakhalin Island. But I was unable to find out anything concerning these methods from the fishermen whom I questioned. Perhaps I encountered people who really had no conception of these matters. Or they probably avoided discussing them with me on purpose since they [648] knew that the new Japanese penal law prosecutes severely all manipulations that are designed to decrease the birthrate. I learned, however, from a more intelligent Japanese, that [824] saffron, which grows wild on Hokkaido Island, is regarded as a very sure remedy. It is highly probable that in Japan many methods are used, in view of the fact that in that country the custom of preventing and interrupting pregnancy is very widespread. Even the Ainu women believe in these sisiam kusuri (Japanese remedies), but they seldom betray their secret which they received on the condition of silence.

● 845 847 Twin births. Among the Ainu the birth of twins has the same supersition attached to it as among the Gilyak. One of [842] the two is considered of definite diabolic descent since in their opinion man can only fertilize a woman with one child. Such an attitude to two simultaneously born children might lead one to suspect that the Ainu would try to rid themselves of the diabolic breed. I was however unable to find any basis for the suspicion that they have the custom of killing one of the twins. On the other hand, in the book of a Russian traveller of the beginning of the 19th century, Krasheninnikov, such a custom is mentioned, though, in fact, as being current with the Ainu of

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845 the Kuril Islands. But I have the following reasons for main-
847 taining that even today the Ainu are in the habit of killing their twins.

1. Their conviction that of twins always only one remains alive, namely that one, which is of human descent. The deceased twin is of devilish origin.

2. The Ainu family's fear of bringing up the child descended from the Evil One and the continuing disgrace of the mother in the view of her acquaintances. This feeling of disgrace is so
[124] strong that I had extraordinary difficulty in obtaining any kind of information about the mothers who had borne twins. Only such people who were in no wise related to their families or who even felt hostile to them, dared to point them out to me.

3. Finally the circumstance that during my stay among the Ainu not a single living pair of twins was to be found, although I managed to obtain information about two grown-up women of whom both, as sole survivors, belonged to different pairs of twins. In 1902 a woman in a village known to me recovered from the birth of twins which, however, died immediately.

These grounds for believing that even today the Ainu kill one of the twins could at most be weakened by a single tradition on this topic. I was told that twin brothers who remained
[177] alive and whose parents succeeded in bring them up, were favorites of fortune and particularly capable in hunting. It is
[179] however possible that this tradition is of Japanese and in fact later origin, since it was unknown to many. Others maintained, for instance, that among the Ainu, as among the Japanese, only the younger brother is courageous, strong and happy. The older is, they say, in no respect different from the average member of his tribe.

845 The Ainu, like the Gilyak, try equally hard to protect
782 themselves from the repetition of such a misfortune by sacrifices
778 and prayers. In the south of Sakhalin Island for instance, they
184 hang, in honor of the gods and spirits, the usual sacrificial
789 object, the intricately carved stick (inau), over the bed of a
[191] mother of twins. In the northern villages they attach, apart

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845 from the inau, two little dolls or rather wooden sticks to the
782 wall, which are meant to represent the twins. This inau is re-
778 newed every time the old ashes are removed from the yurt,
184 whereupon they sacrifice to almost all the gods. In the house
789 of one Ainu who inhabited the northern most village of Taraika I saw talismans that had the purpose of preventing the recurrence of a twin birth.

845 /772/ The Ainu avoid women who have borne twins to the same degree as they shrink from twins themselves. They fear that from them the fatal qualities might be transferred to others. In this respect their views are quite different, though, from
[171] those of the Gilyak. For they consider soft objects such as household objects of sea weed and articles of clothing as being not so harmful as metal objects or had things in general.

842 Sterility. The Ainu believe that a grown-up person can
789 transfer his properties to another. Thus a sterile woman, for instance, will buy various appliances made by a woman with many children. She will use these constantly and she will probably also carry smaller objects on her person. As a good remedy they also give a sterile woman a potion which consists of nothing else but water in which the leather end of a prolific woman's girdle has been boiled. There is also a widespread belief that a sterile woman can be cured if she sits down with her bare buttocks on the just extruded placenta of a woman who has given birth to a child. Some men told me of yet another remedy. The husband of a childless woman lays, without her knowing it, a wooden knife under her pillow which must resemble a real knife exactly. If in a year's time the desired effect has
[595] not taken place, the man takes another, younger wife in order to obtain from her the coveted offspring.

842 But it is seldom that the Ainu ascribe the fault of childless-
896 ness exclusively to the woman. There is rather the general view, that this depends on both mates, or really on their blood which may be hard or soft. If both mates have soft blood they will have a child born to them in the first or second year of their living together. If the blood of one of the mates is